5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 wives, and does little except to direct the others in their
[554] work, and look after the comfort of her husband. Her place in the lodge is on his right-hand side, while the others have their places or seats near the door-way. This wife is even allowed at informal gatherings to take a whiff at the pipe, as it is passed around the circle, and to participate in the conversation.

595 In the old days, it was a very poor man who did not
556 have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than
178 a dozen. I have heard of one who had sixteen. In those times, provided a man had a good-sized band of horses, the more wives he had, the richer he was. He could always find young men to hunt for him, if he furnished the mounts, and, of course, the more wives he had, the more robes and furs they would tan for him.

586 If, for any cause, a man wished to divorce himself from a woman, he had but to send her back to her parents and demand the price paid for her, and the matter was accomplished. The woman was then free to marry again, provided her parents were willing.

587 When a man dies, his wives become the potential wives of
428 his oldest brother. Unless, during his life, he has given them outright horses and other property, at his death they are entitled to none of his possessions. If he has sons, the property is divided among them, except a few horses, which are given to his brothers. If he has no sons, all the property goes to his brothers, and if there are no brothers, it goes to the nearest male relatives on the father's side.

567 The Blackfeet cannot be said to have been slave-holders.
562 It is true that the Crees call the Blackfeet women "Little
593 Slaves." But this, as elsewhere suggested, may refer to the region whence they originally came, though it is often explained that it is on account of the manner in which the Blackfeet treat their women, killing them or mutilating their features for adultery and other serious offences.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 or more wives. Probably more than half of the men had at least two. In these polygamous households the husband's favorite, his "sits-beside-me-wife," accompanied him to feasts and ceremonies and supervised the work of the other women in her husband's home. Cautious men tried to minimize the dangers of jealousy and friction at home by marrying sisters. A husband of an eldest sister could expect the younger ones to be offered to him as they reached marriageable age, although he did not have to accept them. Double-Victory-Calf-Robe had two elder sisters, both of them married to Iron Horn. One day her father said to her, "My son-in-law, Iron Horn, is very kind and good to us. You had better marry him and be with your sisters." Her family outfitted a travois, helped her mount the travois horse, and she rode over to Iron Horn's lodge. He accepted her as his third wife and gave horses to her father.

593 Men were the undisputed lords of their households. They expected their wives to wait upon them hand and foot, to bring them food when they wanted it, to light their pipes and remove their moccasins. Some men beat their wives unmercifully with

586 their riding whips. If a wife found her husband's cruelty unbearable, her elder brother would take her back to her family. Any man who tired of his wife could send her back to her family. In either case the wife took her property with her and the marriage was dissolved.

837 An errant husband could bestow his favors where he wished, but an unfaithful wife, if found out, was in for real trouble. Even

627 though her husband might forgive her, he knew he could not

684 retain the respect of other men unless he took revenge upon her lover, either by killing him or taking his horses, weapons, and other valuables. More often the husband wreaked his vengeance upon his wife. If he was a member of a men's society, his fellow members helped him to shame her. They dragged her from his lodge out on to the plains at night and attacked her. Then they or her jealous husband cut off the end of her nose to mark her for the rest of her life as an unfaithful wife. In 1833, Maximilian observed that women with clipped noses were common in the

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often, however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years,[88] *minipoka* or "favorites." To enhance the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole. It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

> Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for you are a *minipoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was arranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minipoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .
>
> Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a *minipoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

[88] A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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778 The final public gesture was revealing. After a ceremonial capture and
437 days spent in negotiation, the concluding phase of the transfer was reached. Mounted on a painted horse and carrying the pipe on his back, Harvey returned to the tipi of the seller. Outside were ranged the horses to be paid. In due time, the seller emerged, danced up a small aisle opened by the spectators, scrutinized the horses carefully, and slowly nodded his acceptance. The bargain was struck. In this business-minded community a seller is not always satisfied, however; then additional horses must be brought in or the deal is called off even at this late hour.

778 Buying a bundle is a protection, a responsibility, a means of enhancing
182 prestige, and a speculation. But—symptom of the changing times—cere-
[178] monial consummation may have to wait: Harvey Fleet Foot held up the Sun Dance for three days. He had to cultivate his fields.

V. Some Further Aspects of Contemporary Interpersonal Relations

Men and Women

562 Women as a class have benefited from reserve life for the white man's law
657 now protects their property and person. Serious assault and murder are
586 severely punished. As early as 1883, one agent noted the results with a certain regret: "As the old law of cutting off a woman's nose for leaving her husband is done away with, women do as they like."[176] And desertion no longer relieves the erring husband of all responsibility. But it must be admitted that official interference in this last, though encouraged by the outraged wife, has proven none too effective; the abandoned woman and her children usually return to her parents for consolation and support.

562 The law has also favored women in matters of inheritance. In an earlier
428 day, most of them, to be sure, owned some property; a few, through gift or
178 medicine power, owned considerable, and in the late buffalo period, many seem to have expected a substantial share in the paternal inheritance.[177] Wissler, writing in 1910, observes, "... nothing goes to the widow. She may, however, retain her own personal property to the extent of that brought with her at marriage. She may claim, though not always with success, the offspring of her own horses."[178] Today, "though not always with
[177] success," she claims a good deal more. Bulwarked by white example and force, she demands not only a stake in her father's estate but in her husband's as well.

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[176] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.
[177] See story of Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff. A
[178] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 27.

A [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]
A

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NP6 Blackfoot NP6 Blood

If the manly-hearted woman is regarded as a product of established and traditional wealth, "Miss Wells' girls" illustrate the possibility for mobility within the more recent society. Half-breeds, most of them, and without inherited property, these "girls," now in their late forties, were sent to school at an early age and only rarely spent their holidays with their Indian relatives. When other children returned to their parents, this unwanted group went off with their teacher to a summer camp where they worked and experimented in cooperative living. Miss Wells understood her girls. She mothered them and imbued them with enthusiasm for white ways. They, in turn, loved and respected her. Today these "girls" are the most progressive women of their generation—and the most ambitious. Several assisted at the school after "graduation." One earned her living as a dressmaker in a white community. Later she returned to become the first and only independent woman farmer on the reserve. It is to this group that the up-and-coming wheat farmers, mostly half-breeds themselves, have looked for wives. These farmers are now the "newly rich," and two of them have been elected band chiefs.

Many women enjoy independent earnings, but these have never been great enough to radically affect their social status. Now, as in the past, vertical mobility is achieved through advantageous marriage. Marriage, however, plays a lesser rôle in the life of the woman of wealth. A union with the son of a rich family naturally cements her position; but a union with a poor man does not, ipso facto, lower it. On the contrary, her property can be used to enhance his earning power and prestige. If he is industrious, both will gain; if he proves unsatisfactory, she can cast him off and with little difficulty find a more deserving mate. Few women, however, have much property. Most of them, despite the privileges they enjoy, shine in reflected glory in this dominantly masculine society. In childhood, their status depends upon their fathers' status, in adulthood, upon their husbands'. Significantly, and in contrast to feminist practice in the Pueblos, a Blood woman is always known after marriage by her husband's name.

JEALOUSY.—While this male dominance is indisputable, it gives small comfort to the man on the reserve, for jealousy is one of the most disruptive forces in Blood human relations. The woman is still considered a form of property, property that is as necessary to success today as it was in the polygamous past. Then the younger wives were known as "uncertain wives," and lapses in matrimonial duty received summary and harsh treatment. Writing in 1832, Maximilian comments, "They generally punish infidelity in their wives very severely, cutting off their noses in such cases. . . . When ten or twelve tents were together, we were sure to see six or seven women mutilated in this manner. . . . There have been frequent instances of a husband immediately killing his wife, when she had had intercourse with

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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at least two unions before she settled down with the youngest son of a wealthy chief. 593

But even a long interlude of adaptation may end in abandonment. A Bob Double Man still believes in loving and leaving; a Pointed Plume, after an alliance of twenty-two years, again sows his wild oats; a Henry Dennis deserts his wife and seven young children for a younger and handsomer woman; and a Mrs. John White Bull changes partners at will, returning unconcernedly to a cast-off husband when a new one proves unsatisfactory. 837 581

Many, however, stick it through; but within the frame of a monogamous marriage, they are able to reëstablish the polygamous past with considerable success. Not infrequently a woman, whose husband is safely behind prison bars for drunkenness or cattle stealing or assault, will spend the time of waiting with an "interested" and hospitable relative. Her position in his household is not unlike that of the "second wife" in an earlier day. She may, now as then, give needed domestic aid, but more often she remains a demanding and quarrelsome interloper fighting the "legal" wife for the husband's favor. 593 837 595 178 [578]

When a more stable relationship is sought without disturbing the formal bonds of marriage, a mistress's husband may also be invited into the home as farm worker or cattle hand. He watches his arrogant employer delight his wife with gifts and make love to her in drunken orgies. To him, dignified silence at these spectacles establishes his bravery; to them, he remains a weakling to be ignored and laughed at. 593 837 [577]

Most often, however, separation, either permanent or temporary, is the ready answer to incompatibility. From the standpoint of familial stability, the latter may well be the more devastating. One detailed description of alternating breaks and reunions follows: 586

In the four months that Pointed Plume was living with his "new wife" Laura and her baby daughter, they separated as many times. Twenty years his junior, small, compact, but looking his contemporary, she industriously prepared his meals, jerked the meat, made pemmican, preserved the fruits, and did the family washing. A neighbor said, "Pointed Plume's new wife is a good worker. She likes to please the old man. She does everything for him." But another commented, "They are not getting on very well. Laura's first marriage with Big Shield broke up because she was so jealous; her marriage with Tom Bacon broke up for the same reason. Now after three months she is accusing White Plume of running with other women. She even suspects him when he is paid to drive a man and his wife to town in his car." The neighbor spoke from intimate knowledge. After quarreling with her husband, Laura had been set down along the roadside. On reaching Cardston she rushed to the parked car, and shouted at her astonished neighbor who was sitting there alone, "Pointed Plume and your wife are sweet- 593 [586] [577] [586] [152] 593 586 152 578

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

593 hearts." After this public exhibition, she jumped into the front seat, quietly
586 to await her mate's return. When Pointed Plume saw her there, he climbed
152 in beside her, and conforming to Blackfoot custom in crises, "said nothing."
578 The friend, however, made his own deductions. "They won't stay together long," he observed to his wife.

Nor did they. Several weeks afterwards, coat-tails flying in the early morning breeze, swinging a valise and preceded by his two small granddaughters who had been staying with him, White Plume hurried down the gully to a relative's house. In his tent sat Laura, badly beaten and bruised. "Pointed Plume," she said, "is a very *jalose* man, Even if he is rich, I do not want to stay with him." The day before, Joe Curtis, just separated from his young wife and on his way to visit his mother, had passed Laura's tent. She emphatically denied that he had entered, but her protestations did nothing to allay her husband's suspicions. He took the usual painful measures.

When Laura and her daughter were finally set down at her relatives, Frank Newall who was working outside just looked up and "said nothing." It was all in a day's work to have a woman and child dropped on your doorstep before ten in the morning.

A few days later she was back. Again she was beaten and left. Again she returned, this time beautifully dressed and bedecked with jewelry. Apparently, she had made a new decision: it was good to live with a rich man, even if he were "*jalose*."

It may be that this is an extreme case, that Pointed Plume and Laura were both unusually suspicious, that Pointed Plume was particularly irascible and violent. But they were not the only ones among our friends who settled matrimonial difficulties during our stay by separation and, at times, reunion.

Marion Curtis was deposited one night at her parents' house by an angry husband. It was whispered that he had found her standing compromisingly close to his farm hand. A week later, after a consoling interlude at a rodeo, he returned. Without further explanation, Marion announced that she was leaving with him that night.

The seemingly happy marriage of Joe Duck-Bill suddenly went on the rocks. So did that of a neighbor's son. A good friend confided her desire to leave her ailing husband. He volunteered that in years past she had done so more than once.

593 How basic a security can develop in such a turbulent atmosphere is diffi-
578 cult to determine. But despite frequent quarrels and separations, despite a limited emphasis on such socially desirable virtues as cooperativeness, mutual trust and loyalty, marriages of ten, fifteen, and twenty years dura-

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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of her ill-mannered ways she was accused of joking obscenely with a paternal cross-cousin who was nominally her grandmother. In another case a man was reciting a general formula for handling wives who had gone home from their husbands: "Then the husband would send his sister to the home of the wife's brothers to solicit in his behalf." If it be recalled that she along with her brother is elevated by siblings of the wife's family, then we can understand her power as mediator. In another instance a man married two women who were cross-cousins to each other; he was severely criticized for marrying wives who were "two generations apart."

We were struck by the differing ethos of the woman's world as compared with the man's. Confined in their activity largely to the camp, women were more complacent, resigned, physically less active, and less apt to engage in physical battle to settle their differences. This, we believe, was in part the result of the greater importance of kinship in fixing their social relations than was the case with men. First it was more difficult for women to alter their status in the social group than for men. War and wealth did not offer opportunities; rather the woman's position was dependent in this male-dominated society upon the status of her husband. The wife of a chief (*ni'na.ki*) might display her personal finery to the discredit of other women, but it was only as the wife of a chief that such conduct was possible. Otherwise she was a deviant who was treated accordingly. To be sure, women might raise their status in the social hierarchy through religious and ceremonial participation, but unlike coups in battle, the woman who vowed six Sun Dances was accorded very little, if any, more respect than one who vowed one or two Sun Dances. Though women took pride in good handwork, there was no widespread or standardized recognition of these accomplishments that we have uncovered, unlike the Cheyenne women who were admitted to a society in recognition for outstanding handwork.[9] Hence the kinship system appears to be more effective than was the case with men in channeling social relationships between women, for there were fewer competing factors to disrupt its efficient working.

Marriage: A Union between Female and Male Worlds

The male world was outside the tipi in the tending of horses, hunting and the counting of coups. There the world was ordered through seniority. Within the tipi it was a woman's world with objects made by the woman, with children to be tended, and with other women categorized in terms of generation who assisted her with her duties. Marriage was the institution that united these two worlds, but it presented a break with the life of the past for both partners.

[9] Grinnell, G. B. *The Cheyenne Indians*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924, Vol. 1, p. 159 ff.

with seniority as the greater weight. However, regardless of seniority the wife's brother had the right to call home his sister in case of her being mistreated, and if this occurred soon after the initial marriage contract, return of the wedding gifts might be demanded. This prerogative was, of course, balanced by the more frequently exercised right of a husband to send his wife away in case of her failure to meet his demands. Normally, sex rather than family lines constituted the major cleavage, so that the two men cooperated to keep the woman faithful.

Similarly son and son-in-law were neatly balanced. The son, as we shall see presently, was the most important offspring yet little more important than the son-in-law. The rationale of the mother-in-law tabu, as stated by most women, hinges on the emotion of respect. Weight is given this phrasing in behavior, for the greater the prestige of the son-in-law, the greater the number of female in-laws who observed avoidance norms. The respect was also accompanied by periodic gifts exchanged between the son-in-law and parents-in-law. The supremacy of the son in the eyes of his parents may be seen by the following incident where a woman was dying. On her deathbed she summoned her son-in-law who entered the room with eyes lowered so as not to look in her face. After hearing the last words directed to other relatives, the son-in-law was addressed through his wife; the old woman said: "Be kind to your husband; treat him well after I am gone. I love you very much, but I love him better. I love him like a son."

Lineage was traced through the mother's line as well as through the father's. Incest was reckoned if any relationship between the two prospective spouses could be discovered. There was, however, little memory beyond three generations, when the line diffused into vagueness. With names a slight patrilineality showed itself in the desire to make a great name "live in every generation." Thus we find sons and grandsons of famous people still bearing such names as Crowfoot, Eagle Ribs, Old Sun and Many Swans. It would be unusual for a son-in-law to take a family name of this type, but if he did, it was deemed a great honor to the family, for which he would be given a good horse. More likely he would feel obliged to keep alive the important names of his own family. There were also great female names passed down in the line from mother to daughter, but their importance was overshadowed by the male names.

Inheritance of property was also multilateral. A list of recipients in order of their priority might run like this: older brother, younger brother, son, wife's brother, daughter's husband. Nominally, females might receive property and dispose of it, though in practice the husband of the woman received it and acted as agent. Horses, which made up the body of the legacy since household furnishings were parts of the mortuary tipi, were not ordinarily given to lone women, as they had no means for caring for them. The male ooo

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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a man reside in his wife's father's camp or his own father's camp, but he might follow a sibling who lived in the camp of this sibling's in-laws or this sibling's brother-in-law's camp which might be located elsewhere. We have cases of poor men "without any relatives" moving into the camp of a chief and being welcomed despite the absence of blood ties. There was considerable freedom of movement on this basis, and the man usually camped where he was furnished with the greatest economic advantages. 591

Consideration on the basis of terminology alone suggests a patrilineal weighting. A male derived no prestige from the line of females beginning with his sister who called him "older brother." We might regard these females as being sent to another line of males where they would honor all whom they called "grandparent." In keeping with this emphasis was the early marriage of daughters who thus went to live with their husbands before strong personal attachments were formed with their brothers. Substantiating this was the remoteness of a man's children to his sister. Also, as we have seen, honor was accorded the son-in-law by the daughter's parents rather than the daughter. Weighing against such a lineal emphasis, was the important relationship of son-in-law to son and to the parents themselves which firmly united the group. Furthermore, the phrasing of wedlock was that a wife "brought the husband children." In these words Blackfoot underscored cooperation between husband and wife rather than the alternative possibility that the rôle of a wife was solely bearing children for him. The children were his only for the duration of the marriage contract, since they normally followed the mother to her new residence after separation. Terminologically the cooperation of man and woman to produce children may be also seen in the fact that a man calls the children of his wife's sister, even though married to another man, "son" and "daughter." 601 602 601 581 593 [562] [586] [601]

Perhaps a stronger argument for patrilineality was the dramatization by a son of his relationship to his father. In addition to the important position of the father in designating kinsmen, this showed itself in four principal ways. First, we have observed among our informants an eagerness to relate the tales of their father's prowess, a tendency to glorify him as a man great in battle, wealth and generosity. Where one informant's father had disgraced himself by presuming to be a chief when he had no claim to this authority, the informant seized upon his paternal grandfather as a proper alternative to glorify. Another indication of this dramatization is the frequent statement of an informant that he was a favored child. Most of our informants recognized the disadvantage of being favored children since the pampering accorded such a child usually misfitted him for a self-sufficient life after the father's death when many of the favored children went bankrupt. Nevertheless, informants persisted in stating that they were favored children. The desirability of being a favored child was, first, that one's own 593 554 601 [558] 593 858 554

593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elabor-
ate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
593 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct refer-
ence to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[859] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
[591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
● 586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Further-
more, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[688] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remar-
riage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

128 592 households headed by males or females are not truly patrifocal or matrifocal since married offspring with their offspring provide the major socialization services. This argument, then, leads me to somewhat restate my table headings to read "spouseless male" and "spouseless female" headed households, which would therefore properly embrace all households listed, whether truly matrifocal or patrifocal.

I discuss these types of households to further elaborate on relationships within families and households. A broken union or death of a spouse obviously places additional burdens on the remaining spouse who suddenly becomes responsible for the management of the household. The burden is less in extended family households because the remaining household members can better divide the burden than in nuclear families. 164 165 In the 1921 households tuberculosis claimed many spouses, a disease which is presently much better controlled. This may have curtailed the incidence of divorce.

127 128 592 586 I call attention to the differences between the two samples in the preceeding tables. I note first that sixteen of the 68 rural households in 1966 fall into this category, or 24 per cent of the total, while only 26 of the 167 households in 1921 were of a similar type, or 15 per cent. Also, eleven of the sixteen cases in 1966 are the result of broken unions (seven of nine spouseless males and four of seven spouseless females), or 68 per cent. Only two cases in 1921 came about through broken unions, a mere eight per cent of the cases. I cannot explain why this is the case. Perhaps there is systematic exclusion of marital splits in the records, and marital unions as well. I try here

to make the best sense of the data possible given the information at hand. I do know that during my 1970 visit to the reservation I learned that two re-unions had occurred among the sixteen recorded spouseless households. The difference in the two samples suggest increasing difficulties and stress for the present households; along with poor economic conditions and increased household population density there are greater numbers of marital splits proportional to the overall number of households.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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Table 30

NINE MATRIFOCAL BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967-1970

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
F 65	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	3 grandchildren
F 72	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	3 grandchildren
F 61	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 grandchild
F 68	Broken Union	Grandparent-Grandchild	3 grandchildren
F 64	Widow	Extended	1 married son, his spouse and 2 offspring
F 50	Widow	Independent Nuclear	8 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
Total 9			

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586 Broken unions among single household heads are not necessarily indicators of overall marital stability. Among the rural adults who had been or were married at the time I contacted them, I found that for every divorce or permanent separation there are 4.4 marriages (common law, civil, church marriages). This ratio of permanent separations or divorces reflects a reasonably stable marital pattern. By comparison with other populations, Lynd and his associates (Lynd 1956) found that in 1924 at "Middletown" there were 42 divorces per 100 marriages; there was more instability in Lynd's sample than the rural Blackfeet. At Middletown the divorce rate was 42 per cent while the rate among the rural Blackfeet is 22 per cent, a difference of 20 per cent. The divorce rate, to provide additional comparative data, in Los Angeles County, California, is about 50 per cent at present. I realize these comparisons are not as meaningful as they should be. An additional factor is that marriage among the Blackfeet is generally regarded as a more or less permanent arrangement only if cohabitation lasts more than six months. More casual unions are rather frequent and are not included in the figures given here, nor are they regarded as marriages by participants so far as I was able to determine.

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Conclusions

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511 Browning households, based on my findings, are only slightly more prosperous than the rural Heart Butte inhabitants. Median household income is about $3,700 compared with $3,550 in the Heart Butte area.

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434 Earned income accounts for a greater percentage of total household income

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

584 585 through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

584 602 Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the 584 accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission [657] school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable [602] weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his 585 bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service [431] performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

586 In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collab- 583 orate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the 586 extreme is the following:

762 626 A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends beseeched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

[1]This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

When this pressure was unavailing, the two were shunned by all. After several months together, the two quarrelled among themselves over suspected unfaithfulness. They separated, and the man committed suicide after leaving behind notes addressed to his first wife. The woman later remarried, though to a man of lower status than herself, and by exemplary behavior and even some show of submissiveness has lived down much of the scandal.

Here all pressure failed to dissolve the match, even ostracism. When the microcosm itself collapsed, there were no other face-saving alternatives for the man than suicide, and suicide under any circumstances is very rare. Usually the agency policy is laissez-faire with respect to marital affairs, and the foregoing case shows that the maximum persuasion came from relatives and other Indians who "cut" them socially. The agency is more often invoked to untangle the conflicting claims on property between the offended and the offending parties after separation. Here the council of chiefs is particularly useful in advising the agent as to Blackfoot practice and sentiment.

Although we have no substantiating statistics, the frequency of separation seems higher today than in former times. There are few Blackfoot who have not separated and remarried at least once, more often four or five times. "Stealing" of wives or husbands, i.e., infidelity, is a frequent accusation, and the resultant jealousy becomes the cause for most separations. In the past a husband's suspicion of unfaithfulness led to brutal treatment of his wife, such as nose-cutting, society "rape" fests, or his sending her away. Of late such jealousy seems to have increased, particularly since women as well as men are today considered capable of jealousy. The offended spouse either departs or sends the offender away, if the latter has not already eloped. This probably means the termination of two marriages, that of the co-respondent and that of the unfaithful woman. As a result, conflicting claims for horses, wagons, and household furnishings between these parties arise, and settlement becomes a delicate problem for the agent and the council of chiefs.

The causes for the increased fragility of marriage bonds lie in the many social changes that have occurred since settling on the reserve. First, we note an increased proportion of males to females, after the cessation of wars. Seduction has long been considered an unofficial male *coup*, and as this feeling has not diminished, and people live in greater proximity, opportunities for illicit affairs are greater today. In the second place, the punishment meted out by the offended husband has decreased in severity in the light of white disapproval of mutilation.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

of mutilation. This brings to our attention the enhanced status of women through the application of white law. Through English precedent a Blackfoot woman may hold property in her own name, thus having authority which lies beyond the control of her husband. Furthermore, English law does not reinforce the authority over her by the male members of her family, as does Blackfoot practice. Thus in a case where a woman complained to the agent about mistreatment by her husband which had the approval of her own brothers, the case would probably be decided in favour of the woman by a white magistrate. Women are legally freer today than formerly. Naturally such legal practices have undermined much of the familial authority. It has been broken down further by years of boarding-school life away from the elders, as well as the white law which permits an adult female self-determination, once she has passed the eighteenth birthday.

On the side of the male other factors have further undermined marital stability. In the former polygynous households, relations with another woman could sometimes be legalized by incorporating her into the family as a co-wife. Of course, this is not permissible today. Moreover, the number of services performed by a woman for her husband have decreased. Though cooking and child tending continue, the hides that she once tanned, the tipi and buckskin clothes that she once made are either not desired, or their equivalents can be purchased from stores. Economically, wives are less valuable.

Remarriage after separation or death of a spouse is vastly simpler than initial marriages. Relatives, preferably the older brothers, of a woman usually select a satisfactory male who, in case of acceptance, notifies the agency of the event. The customary five dollars in cash is given again and notice sent to the stock-man concerning the delivery of rations. Male initiative in proposing marriage also occurs, though via an intermediary; in such cases a woman is expected to consult her male relatives before an answer can be given. Elopement of an unmarried girl does occur, but amends should be made to the offended authority of the woman's brother by sending a proper gift, traditionally a horse. In case of an elopement from a husband, the wife's brothers, if they approve the change, should relay the gift to the offended husband.

Such a picture of marital instability, hence household instability, superimposed upon the amorphousness of many extended families, shows the fluidity of reserve social structure. The points of stability

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occasionally, other property is returned in its stead.

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave.

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre and returned with some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered powerful medicine. Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given for amusement.

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs.

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a ceremonial dance. Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. The Blood now have a sacred crow belt.

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.[1]

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[1] An informant commented as follows: — Sometimes the grass dancers give up their wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tail, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan.

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

602 the Indian people relationships are much more generalized than among many others. For instance, all my female rela-
601 tives of AnadaAki's age are my grandmothers, as well as some who are younger. Also, all the women of my tribe who lived long ago are spoken of as grandmothers. In addition, it is common for any old woman in the tribe, when speaking kindly, to call any young woman or girl "my grandaughter." So the title of my book actually refers to the ways of the women of my tribe, not just to the mothers of my parents.

551 AnadaAki's mother was named First-to-Kill by an old warrior who had once accomplished that distinction in battle. First-to-Kill had a brother named Sweetgrass, and the two were raised during the buffalo days. When she grew up she married Joe Trollinger, who had arrived among the Bloods from Germany. She became known as Lucy Trollinger and, with her husband, she helped run a restaurant and hotel on the wagon road between the Blood Reserve and the later city of Calgary, which was then a fort and trading post. The Bloods named her husband Last-to-Get-Angry, because his favorite expression was: "You got angry first, now I'm going to get angry." Travelers nicknamed him Rutabaga Joe because he had such a fondness for that vegetable.

586 Joe and Lucy had five children together, and four of them lived past the age of ninety. AnadaAki was the youngest, and the only one who didn't see her father. Her eldest sister was deaf and dumb, but when Lucy found out that Joe was going to take her to Germany for treatment she packed up all the kids and moved back among the Bloods. Shortly afterward she married a young warrior named Heavy Head, who took the kids as his own. He and Lucy had no more children, but
177 AnadaAki was born shortly after they got together. In spite of her full Blood upbringing, I can say that my grandma definitely has ways and characteristics that are more commonly considered German than Blood. Blue eyes are another sign of her European ancestry.

tune if it should fall to the ground. Wolf Shirt proved his Power by never letting a Stem fall from his head. Mokakin and Ponah have seen him dance this way with all the Medicine Pipes still left among our People. 796 276 [784]

Ponah told us that her father, as a young man, was happily married to two sisters from the North Piegan divison. After one of the sisters died, Iron began investigating a young Blood woman for his next wife. The surviving sister became jealous and left him. So he married the Blood woman. She was the mother of Ponah and her sister, Mrs. Red Crow. After his third wife died he married the widow of Ghost Chest. She was an older woman, called Istsimpski, or "Hateful Face." Her son was Charlie Goodrider, who was quite a romantic character. 595 587 [586]

Ponah asked Mokakin to tell us about her father's horse raids. He related the time Iron was with One Spot and Head Walking when they raided the Crees. One Spot captured a Cree Medicine Pipe, against Iron's insistence, while Head Walking shot a Cree. Iron rode up to the Cree, dismounted, stabbed the man dead, and took his scalp. 721

As we talked, we began to hear singing faintly coming through the rising and falling of the wind outside. Slowly, the singing grew louder. 533

[p. 56-A]

is a place known as the Snake Pit, which few people have gone into to investigate. Even today, early on a cool morning, one can see the steam rising from the entrance to a large den. It was in that area that Calf Shirt once went to seek a vision, through which he was given the Power of Rattlesnakes. I have never heard the exact story of his vision but the following story is an indication of the Powers it gave to him.

Calf Shirt's sister was married to a Blood named Cree Man, who did not treat her properly. According to custom, a girl's brother could go and take back his mistreated sister, which Calf Shirt did. When Cree Man came to see about his wife, Calf Shirt told him, "If you want your wife back you will have to prove to me that you will devote yourself to her better. To do this you must obtain for me one of my Medicine animals." He then told Cree Man how to get to a particular snake den and how to identify a certain large rattlesnake there. He told Cree Man that the large snake would be curled up outside the entrance to the den. He told him to look for a certain plant in the vicinity. He said, "Put some of this plant in your mouth and chew it. When you see the snake, rub some of it on your hands and pick the snake up by the neck, not too tight, and hold it next to your bare skin until it gets to know you."

Cree Man went to the other side of a place called Turnip Hill, near Lethbridge. When he got there the snakes were just coming out for the morning. He watched until a very large snake emerged and curled up by the doorway. Cree Man spit some of the chewed-up plant on his hands and some on the snake's head. The snake lay very still. Cree Man prayed fervently as he reached forward to pick up the snake. He told it, "I came to get Calf Shirt's Medicine. I am going to take you home with me." He held the snake up against the bare skin of his stomach and the snake coiled itself around his waist. He got on his horse carefully, so that he would not injure the snake or

arouse it, and rode back home as fast as he could. 586
When Cree Man arrived at the camp, Calf Shirt 593
asked for the snake. Cree Man began to shake 825
and cry. He was afraid to touch the snake again 789
lest it bite his stomach. Calf Shirt told him to spit
some more of the plant on his hands and on the
snake's head, after which Cree Man was able to
pick up the snake. Calf Shirt put it into a white
sugar bag.

Cree Man returned to his home with his
wife, but he was unable to sleep for several nights.
He continued to have nightmares about rattle-
snakes. Calf Shirt sent some sacred paint to him
and told him to keep using rattlesnakes for his
Power, now that he knew how to handle them.
Cree Man just wanted to forget the whole ex-
perience.

Calf Shirt used his Rattlesnake Power to 756
doctor various ailments. One of his specialties was 842
sterilizing women. Among his doctoring articles [237]
was a buckskin snake that was painted black and [531]
had a green glass bead attached to the head and a
small bell to the tail. He would lay this snake next
to a woman's body, sing his song and give her
some kind of Medicine, and the woman would
never have children again.

Oddly enough, however, he did not have the 756
Power to doctor rattlesnake bites. One time he 752
was careless with the one that he carried with him
and it bit him. His relative, old Weasel Head, [759]
paid a good horse to a deaf old woman who was
able to doctor Calf Shirt until he was well.

The Old Man said that Calf Shirt was 756
famous everywhere, but that few people came 231
very near him, because they feared his snakes. He [554]
always kept one in a cloth or buckskin bag inside
his shirt, by his stomach. The Old Man said, "If
he came and sat down at a dance or gathering,
everyone around him would get up in a hurry and
sit somewhere else. We always wondered what he
fed his snakes."

Calf Shirt's Powers taught him to design a 756
sacred tipi. It was painted blue and had rattle- 778
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[p. 271-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Hungry Crow was sent to the penitentiary in Rocky Mountain House for a five-year term. Black Rabbit was captured across the line and sent to the Deer Lodge Penitentiary. Later, when he was released, he was given enough money to take a train to Browning, Montana. From there he started to walk home, until he saw a camp of covered wagons on his way. He waited until dark, then went to the camp and got himself some four-legged transportation. Shot-on-Both-Sides was captured and then released on the recognition of his father, who was head chief. Crazy Crow was captured later and sent to the penitentiary for six months. While he was gone it is said that his brother, Plain Woman, ended up with his wife. When Crazy Crow came back and heard about it, he said, "That is all right. She is not the only woman on the reserve." He found himself a new wife and stayed on good terms with his first one.

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[721]
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[p. 304-A]

looks so clean and new. When we said yes, she told us this story: One time Ponah was visiting the Red Crows. She knew her sister was always a good housekeeper and never liked to see dirty things around. When the Red Crows had gotten their Pipe, the old shawl covering it clearly showed its many years of protecting the Bundle. So during this visit, when Ponah noticed her sister washing what looked like the Bundle's shawl, she went to look at the Bundle and saw that an ordinary blanket was covering it. "You must be crazy," she told her sister. "Do you want us all to drown in a big thunderstorm? You're not supposed to wash holy things like that!" Poor Mrs. Red Crow felt very badly. She had never been told such a thing. 778 [784]

Now she holds sacred duties as the Scabby Bull for the Motokiks, a position transferred to her a few years ago by Doreen Day Rider, the previous Scabby Bull. 793 [425] [424]

MRS. ROSIE DAVIS

Mrs. Rosie Davis is the oldest person on the Blood Reserve. 165

I don't know how old I am. Nobody ever told me the exact year of my birth. People usually say that I am one hundred years old, and they are probably right. I was still a little girl when the 1877 Treaty was signed.

I was born in Fort Benton. My mother married a white man named Smith, who worked on a Missouri River steamboat out of Fort Benton. We lived there when I was young; my father would come to see us between trips. My mother's father, Iron Pipe, took my mother and me up to the Blood Reserve so that we would be registered on the band rolls for the signing of the 1877 Treaty. He told my father he would try to send us back down to Fort Benton somehow. 582 648

When the treaty was finally settled, my grandfather could not find anyone to accompany us 586

[p.342-B]

back down to Fort Benton. It was very dangerous to be alone out in that country, because of the enemy war parties. So my mother never saw my real father again. She then married Flying Chief, who was better known as Joe Healy. He was my stepfather. 586 587

Joe Healy had become an orphan when he was very young. His parents were camped in a tipi outside of Fort Whoop-Up, near Lethbridge. During the night, some enemy People from the west side of the mountains came and shot rifles into the tipi. They killed Joe's parents and his two sisters. He was wounded in the thigh. Two traders named Healy and Hamilton found Joe, who was still a little kid, so they buried his family and adopted him. He was doctored by some nuns, and later he was sent to school at Fort Shaw, in Montana. He was about the first boy on this reserve to go to school. He learned English and became a scout and interpreter for the Northwest Mounted Police. 736 597 [871] [191] [464]

I was at the Riot Sun Dance, the one during which Heavy Head tortured himself. I was sitting inside of the Medicine Lodge, near my grandfather, Iron Pipe, who was one of the Medicine Men. People would come up to him and bring him a filled pipe and sometimes an offering and he would pray for them. 793

As Rosie Davis grew older, she became a student of Miss Wells, an English lady who taught a number of Blood girls the ways of being housewives, British style. Her students became noted housekeepers and influential wives of men on the Blood Reserve. Even at her old age, Rosie Davis speaks very clearly, in a British accent, and uses very good grammar. 177 871

Rosie married Charlie Davis, also the child of a white father and a Blood mother. His father was the first government-appointed official for the Northwest Territories. His uncle was the mayor of nearby Fort MacLeod for many years. Charlie was still very young when his mother passed away. 144 [736]

[p.343-A]

to get wood for the lodge fire, she herself did the heavy work, the other merely idling about and taking up a few dry branches now and then. To all of which Otter Woman would never make denial, and Talks-with-the-Buffalo would look at her, at each of them in turn, and grimly smile. 595

Otter Woman often came to visit her father and mother and tell them, incidentally, of fresh meanness that the jealous one had put upon her. And at last Eagle Plume, angry and hurt, said to her: "Daughter, I see that I made a mistake in urging you to marry my more-than-friend. I am disappointed in him. As he will not protect you from that lying woman it is for me to do so; go at once, and take up your belongings, and return home." [586]

"No, father, no," she replied. "You showed me my duty to our tribe. I shall remain with the man to whom you gave me, no matter how much his second wife lies about me." [581]

But as Bear Head said afterward, little did Otter Woman, or any of us, realize how mean was that jealous woman's heart.

Came from the north, from the camp of our brother tribe, the Bloods, four young men to visit friends in our camp, and one of them was Low Horn, he who was nicknamed "Handsome Man." And rightly: he was unquestionably the handsomest of all the men of the three tribes of the Blackfeet. So handsome, so graceful in all that he did, so perfect of figure and face that I shall not attempt to describe him. A bachelor and a lady killer he was, too, desired by all the maidens and doubtless by many a married woman. Some men were so jealous of him that when he staged one of his spectacular dances around the circle of the camp, they ordered their women into their lodges, there to remain until he had passed. Yes, Handsome Man was a dandy, a "fop," as we would say. He had no war record other than having been on one successful raid upon the horse herds of the Crees. Was he, as some maintained, a coward, deserving to be forced to wear a woman's gown, instead of shirt and leggings and breechcloth? [152] [577]

On a hot summer morning, soon after he arrived, word went the round of the camp that Handsome Man was going to dance. Under a shelter of poles and brush, close to their lodge, sat Talks-with-the- 595 837

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

cepting for the sons of the rich—and they were a decided minority—skill in hunting and warfare and courage in the face of danger were the musts for survival. In a word, self-reliance was the aim and basis of training.

And self-reliance was as necessary inside the home as outside it. Not that the Blood lacked affection for their offsprings, or a desire to support them. Many observers have commented most positively on both these traits. But the dependence on the hunt and war for food and gain, the frequent movings from place to place, made the rearing of children a difficult matter. Many stories are told of newborn infants "thrown away," left to die in the bushes, either because they could not be cared for on the march, or because raiders might hear their cries and thus be led to the camping ground, or because a mother had died in childbirth (the lot of the orphan, and even the half-orphan, was, and still is, far from enviable).

It was also considered desirable to limit the number of children. Two years was the standard interval, but the longer the time between siblings, the more parents demonstrated their love for the child previously born. Moreover, abortion carried no stigma. Magic help for this purpose could be easily secured from an authorized female practitioner, and as a special favor, a stop could be put to childbearing altogether. Revealingly, barrenness is never given as a cause for divorce in this competitive society where women are highly prized as property and sex objects, and where marriage is notoriously unstable.

The hunt and war often and for extended periods took the Blood father away from home. And these absences, however necessary, were a continual threat to a child's security. For whether justified or not, and frequently he was justified, a husband was quick to suspect that "the worst" had happened while he was gone.[21] A child often heard his mother accused of adultery, often saw her beaten, and not infrequently deserted. Whatever the ultimate solution of familial disagreement, the child invariably was the sufferer. Even if his parents remained together, he often sought refuge with a nearby relative to avoid further scenes of violence. If they separated and he went with his mother, as he usually did if he was still "young," his sense of belonging might be rudely disturbed again. For often when his mother remarried, she left him with

[21] Among the Blood jealousy was and is obsessional. Many a husband approaching his end threatened to kill his wife, for only if she accompanied him on his final journey would he be sure that he alone would possess her in the next world. The only Blood confined to an insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost.

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

a grandmother, aunt, or older sister "because a stepfather might not treat him right."

To some degree the extended family structure, the close camp living, and the satisfactions found in agemates (the age grades were the strongest expression of solidarity in Blood society) cushioned the threat. But, however viewed, the emotional and even at times physical support that a child could expect from his parents or any other adult was limited indeed.

And the supernaturals were hardly more reliable—at least not those to whom one might appeal for personal aid. When a young man went out alone at night to some far-off place to seek a guardian spirit—in almost all instances, a male being, Old Man Sun, Morning-star, Rock Man or some animal—he did not feel that "strong" medicine would be his if only he followed a prescribed ritual, as was the case in the pueblos of the Southwest. Instead, the Blood youth appealed for "pity." And the supernaturals, like his nearest of kin, were unpredictable. True, if the quest succeeded, prestige would be enhanced, and after some years, material advantage also. But many a supplicant, even after repeated effort, failed to get a "vision" and the power that depended on it.

In this insecure and competitive setting, the institution of "the favorite" emerged, not as an expression of fatherly love but, as the Blackfoot word, *minipoka*, "child of plenty," makes explicit, first and essentially as a way of demonstrating wealth—a way no different from the taking of a second, third, or fourth wife, the owning of expensive pipes or bundles, the possession of a tipi made of eighteen or twenty skins.

There was only one accepted criterion for having a "favorite"—enough wealth to make continual validations in his name. Thus neither the number of the child nor its sex was a consideration, but while a girl could be a *minipoka*, more often it was a boy who was so honored. And the rich man had as many favorites as he could afford. Some said they wanted to treat their children alike, some that they wanted to show how rich they were.

The process began at birth. The favorite was placed on a weasel or otter skin—the poor man's child slept in a buckskin bag. The favorite was "initiated" to many ceremonial privileges—protective paintings, forelocks, charms, pipes, partnerships in a society like the Horns while he was still in his teens. Give-aways were held in his name, and any gifts made to him was quickly repaid and usually with interest.

The favorite was fed first and with the choicest morsels. He was

residence, band, family connections, household, and societal memberships. These cards have been in my possession for many years and I shall be more than happy to make them available for study to any interested scholar. Finally, if anyone knows the present whereabouts of Marjorie Lismer I would appreciate hearing from them, care of the Plains Anthropologist.

Esther S. Goldfrank

INTRODUCTION

Adoption, in one form or another, is commonly found in most parts of the world and yet its mechanics are seldom recorded in any detail. With the Blackfoot it is now a well established custom and the Indians themselves say it was frequent in former times.

The Blood reserve, where these studies were made in the summer of 1939, is an area of 600 square miles in southern Alberta near the International Boundary. About 1450 people are spread over the reserve, in scattered households, with related families tending to cluster together. There are, roughly, 280 of these households, varying in size from those where several families, either of brothers, or of a man and his married children, live together in the same house.

The more prosperous families often have two houses, a farm where they live most of the summer until after the wheat and oats are harvested, and another house nearer the range where their cattle and horses graze. This does not mean that certain houses are unoccupied for half the year. There always seems to be a relative and his family to be accommodated in the other house. Means of subsistence include grain growing, cattle raising, and horse breeding. Horses, however, are not a source of money to any great extent but are used for exchange within the reserve. Government rations and subsidies are given to families who cannot support themselves. There are about a hundred households on destitute rations. Compared with neighboring reserves, however, the number on relief is relatively low.

A feature of family life that strikes even the most casual observer is the fluidity of the family group. Husbands and wives change partners with great ease and frequency, especially among the younger people. Marriages are very informal in many cases and requires little formality for divorce. This is of special interest to our problem since this breakup of the family frequently leaves

the children without a home. Generally the children, especially the infants, follow their mother, either back to her parents' home or into a new marriage. But the new husband does not always welcome his wife's children and a problem is created. 586 593 [587]

This apparently casual attitude towards children would suggest there is little concern for their welfare, that they might be regarded as more or less unwelcome hinderances to their parents' activities. It would be interesting to know the degree to which their presence influences the decision of their parents to separate or to remain together. Probably very little, since no child goes uncared for. Children may sometimes be regarded as nuisances by the younger people, but among the older folk they are definitely desired. They frequently express the wish to have young children about and this is, in a large measure, substantiated by the number of people who take their grandchildren to raise, although not always to adopt. It is felt that a person with no children will have no one to care for him in his old age. It is said that an adopted child knows what has been done for him and out of gratitude will assume more care for his foster parents than will their own children. 855 597 [855] [858]

Nearly half the households on the reserve have children living with them that were not born there. The frequency with which children are sent to live outside their own immediate family is quite noticeable. Here I should like to mention my reluctance to rely upon statistics to emphasize my points. I have a record of about 50 cases that may be considered definite adoptions, to which may be added at least 12 doubtful cases. To these are again added 20 or more even more doubtful cases, which may be just prolonged visits by a child to relatives. The 50 cases of adoption cover those of which people are aware, but I do not doubt that there are many more that have long since been forgotten. In the minds of the community the adopted children soon merge with the rest of the family. 597 597 128

Three main categories can be distinguished within this general pattern of mobility. First of all are cases where a child is visiting relatives. These visits may be of prolonged or short duration and vary in frequency. It may be a case of grandparents looking after the child while there is trouble at home between the parents, because there are too many small children to be cared for there, or for no other reason than that it is nice to visit elsewhere. 855 597

if necessary someone is sure to look after them. 597

Boarding schools have introduced a new factor into this question of age. If separation or death of its parents occurs once the child is in school the need for a home is not so pressing, and the boy or girl can usually be accommodated with relatives for the holidays without phrasing it as an adoption. It is also possible to remain in the care of the school throughout the year. 855 597 586 768

Children in the great majority of cases go to relatives for adoption, although the relationship may be remote. These are often relatives acquired through adoption the previous generation. The families to which these children go are almost equally divided between the relatives of the mother and the father. There are instances, too, where no relatives are involved. In these cases the stated reasons for adopting were that they wanted children, or were sorry for some child and feared that it would not be well treated under some new conditions, such as the remarriage of the father or mother. 597

It is said that girls and boys are equally desirable, likewise the children of either strangers or relatives. Although the great majority of children taken are boys, this does not seem to me significant, for one does not hear of girl babies being passed over. It is natural that most of the children should be taken by relatives since they would be the first to hear of the need for adoption. In many cases the families would be living close together, and it would mean very little adjustment for the child to settle in a new home. In one instance a baby and its father were living with the latter's father's sister and her husband, and when the father married again he just left the child with his aunt who adopted it. 587

Similarly, from the point of view of the foster family there is likely to be little disturbance of the household. There is constant visiting of both children and adults, and when a more permanent relationship is assumed it does not disrupt the existing conditions. 597 182 574

In the majority of cases when a child is introduced into a foster home there are no young children living there at the time. There may never have been any in that household or they may all have grown up and left. In the few instances where young children were still there, there seems to have been little disturbance. In one case a younger girl was adopted after a boy had been taken, and it was remarked that no conflict arose between them since they had previously been playmates, living near one another. I am inclined 597 593

602 face until they had passed by. The same rule of etiquette applied to parents who were *mah-oh-tahn*, that is, who were related by the marriage of their children. Thus the parents of the husband were mah-oh-tahn to the parents of his wife, and the reverse. This is a happy word for which we have no equivalent in English and a chance is thus presented still further to enrich our language.

DIVORCE

586 Divorce was common and rested only upon mutual agreement. The wife, if dissatisfied, might return at will to her father's lodge, or the husband might for a similar reason send her back. The parents also or the brother-in-law might reclaim their daughter and the husband had [626] no redress. This was frequently done temporarily as a check to brutal treatment or an incentive to a lazy husband to better provide for his wife. This right ceased after the wife had borne children. In all the above cases of separation the husband was entitled to the return gifts [626] made before the marriage. The ease with which a wife might leave her husband greatly abridged his power over her and constrained good treatment.

CHILD-BIRTH

844 The Blackfeet women were very easy of parturition, a week sufficing in ordinary cases to restore them to perfect [846] health. Indeed, very frequently they would occupy themselves with their customary duties the following day and not a few instances are mentioned where they have been overtaken by the pains of child-birth on the march, and, after a couple of hours' delay, would resume their places [145] in the cavalcade. It is unquestionable, however, that such early resumption of toil (rendered necessary by their nomadic life) brings on age prematurely and has much to do with the haggard, miserable appearance of most Indian women who have passed the meridian of life.

CHILDHOOD

854 Soon after birth the infant was laid upon its back upon [824] a piece of bark of suitable length, or rolled firmly in un- [237] dressed skin, in which condition it passed the first year of its life.

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

539 583 sìuats, ákstaminitsìuaie. Saiínitasàie, amánnìsi, omí otoχkéman kámosin manikâ'pi, uyínnaiks otáksinìkinai. Saiínitasìuaie, oχksisísai áksistsinimiàu. Stsíkiks oχtókists áiistsìnimiau. Stsíkiksi nínaiks áiokskami ki áisoyimi 539 otoχkémauaiks. Makúpsisi túksk̀am ki tsáχtau nátokami otoχ- 684 kémaiks, áksatapiksistsìuaiks. Mútakatskòaiks. Imaksínaipokàiisaiks, mátàkstuyisìuats, otáiiàkanistsi'χ'p, ákstamanistsiu. I'χ'takáumatskaχtakiu omí otoχkéman.

son-in-law] would give, were just as good [as the presents he received]. All the people would see just the same, what that young man had given. Just the same that young-married man would also give [presents] to his wife's male relatives. If, in the future, his wife was foolish [did something wrong], he would not be ashamed, he would kill her [that means: shame would not prevent him to kill her]. If he did not kill her, [and] if he was right [in saying], [that] his wife was stealing a young man [that means: that his wife secretly had a lover], she would be killed by her male relatives. If they did not kill her, they would cut off her nose. Of others they cut off their ears. Other men had three or four wives. If one or may-be two of his wives were bad, he would throw them out-of-doors. They would not come back. Even if they were chief's daughters, he would not be ashamed; he would do, what he wanted to do. He gave plenty for his wife [that means: he paid richly for her, and therefore he was entitled to do with her just what he wanted].

539 583 Okyúpitapiks ákstàmaitakiau. A'χsimotsìniki, omí nínai otákûsimmokaie. A'komatskaχtakìu. Ikámstsimimotsìniki omí akékoan otoχkéman, nitúyi ákatanìstsatapiksistsiuaie. Otomátskaχtaksiks 586 ákatskotoyiu. Matúpiua atotámskotoìs, otomátskaχtaksìks, ki

Ordinary people would ask for a wife. If he [the wooer] was liked, he would be taken for son-in-law by that man [the girl's father]. He [the wooer] would give presents. If he was disliked by that girl, his wife, the same way he would throw

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

ánniaie áipotoyiu otoχkéman. Itstsíi apatóχtsik áuaχsoàiks, ánnyaie noχkanistâχkâχkèmiau. A´nnikskaie, nitáuaniχ´pinan, makápitapi.

her out of doors. He would take back what he had given for presents. When people took back what they had given for presents, that meant, [that] one was giving up his wife. There were in the olden times people who took their wives by force, that was the way, they got a wife. Such ones, we said, were bad people.

[Cf. Grinnell blt 211 sqq., Mc Clintock ont 184 sqq., Wissler slbi 9 sqq.]

Death and hereafter.

Omík apatóχts áioχtoχkoχsìks nápiiks ki ómaχkàkèks áisokìnakii. Stsíkiks istókimatsists iχ´táisokìnakii. A´iniχ´koχtoχsiau, ki áistokimaiau. Ki stsíkiks áisimistsii. Istsínis omá áioχtoχkoχsiua, imoiánike ki makokísts itáumopistau. Mistákskuists itáikitsiχ´tsau. Saiístakskus, ataχsiksímiks itâ´χkitsisksipistàu. A´nnye nitáiàkiχ´tsaii saipáitapiks. A´uke nínaiks ki nínaipokàiks óχtoχkoχsisàu, áukisokìmiau. Inísau, itáiàksinaiàu nínniks. Anápâχsoiotokâ´nisokàsimiau. Matsóniks nitúianistàpsi. Stsíkiks amáuχkèsani iχ´táuχpuskinàii. Stsíkiks otaχkúyi iχ´táuχpuskinàii. Manikâ´piis, omá iniua nitúyi nitáinau. Akékoànàsis, áuakàsiua osókàsimi. E´nnokâχpekinasiuaie. Omím otsítsiniχ´piau, okónuai itáiakokeuatoχp, áipstsokapistu-

Long ago old men and old women doctored the sick persons [even nowadays such doctoring is practiced]. Some of them doctored with drums. They sang to themselves, and beat the drum. And some doctored by giving something to drink. If the sick person died, he was wrapped into buffalo-robes and cow-skins. He was put up aloft [on top of] the mountains. When there were no mountains, he was tied to bent trees. That was the way, [that] common people were buried. And when the chiefs and the chiefs' children got sick, they were doctored by everybody. When they died, the chiefs were dressed up [in their finest clothes]. They wore shirts of weasel-tails and human hair. Their leggings were just the same [weasel-tails and

not have on her face the ecstatic expression that mothers in women's magazine ads always have—that would have been obscene, I think. But she was contented and unselfconscious and very feminine during the entire proceeding, and it gave me a nice warm member-of-the-family feeling to be there. Too many White women nowadays regard their breasts as something with which to fill out a sweater—they wouldn't even consider nursing their babies—and this attitude, I feel sure, must represent some gross but socially acceptable form of perversion. 122 853

We started home at 5:00, and upon arrival Jim and I took the ten-gallon can and drove down to the creek for water. A small, wiry Indian man of undeterminable age was fishing there, accompanied by four dogs. Jimmy made proper introductions, but Joe Young Eagle was very shy and almost immediately he went splashing knee-deep across a gravel bar, followed by his faithful dogs. Jim said that Joe is pretty much of a hermit, and that he walks wherever he goes, often walking to town—about twelve miles cross-country, as the Indian trots—strolling around for awhile, and then walking home again. 122

Jim fried some moose shoulder for supper and it was tough as hell. I asked him why he didn't cut some steaks from the more tender and flavorful hindquarters, or broil some of the huge tenderloins, and he replied that he is saving the hindquarters for drying.

At supper, Jim casually mentioned that he was married for two years since I was up here last (I guess it was an Indian style marriage, because Jim said that when the woman started to drink too much, Jim divorced her by packing up her things, taking them into town, and handing them to her). Jim said that tomorrow we will have tripe, an Indian favorite. If it is going to be anything like the venison tripe that old Phillip put on the table four years ago, no thanks! Phillip said, "White people don't know how to cook tripe—they clean it up too much so you can't tell what you're eating." Phillip's method of preparation incorporated a careful avoidance of cleaning the tripe (or anything else) too scrupulously. Phillip's recipe consisted in yanking the stomach out of a deer, slitting it open, shaking it a few times, and cooking it as little as possible. Phillip's tripe was brown and smelled like manure and I don't know what it tasted like because I couldn't get it past my nose. [586] [262]

The Chief was very sad at supper. The moose meat—he has not eaten moose in sixty years—brought back a lot of memories. It must be kind of rough to be the last of your generation, almost the last of your culture, but the Chief's only complaint is his poor eyesight.

587

587 SECONDARY MARRIAGES--remarriage of widowed and divorced persons; differential rules governing secondary marriages (e.g., preference for relative of first spouse, reduction in bride-price, curtailing of ceremonial); levirate and sororate unions (e.g., prevalence, preferences, procedure); etc. See also:

Status and activities of widows and widowers . . 880 Polygamous unions. 885

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

595 wives, and does little except to direct the others in their
[554] work, and look after the comfort of her husband. Her place in the lodge is on his right-hand side, while the others have their places or seats near the door-way. This wife is even allowed at informal gatherings to take a whiff at the pipe, as it is passed around the circle, and to participate in the conversation.

595 In the old days, it was a very poor man who did not
556 have three wives. Many had six, eight, and some more than
178 a dozen. I have heard of one who had sixteen. In those times, provided a man had a good-sized band of horses, the more wives he had, the richer he was. He could always find young men to hunt for him, if he furnished the mounts, and, of course, the more wives he had, the more robes and furs they would tan for him.

586 If, for any cause, a man wished to divorce himself from a woman, he had but to send her back to her parents and demand the price paid for her, and the matter was accomplished. The woman was then free to marry again, provided her parents were willing.

587 When a man dies, his wives become the potential wives of
428 his oldest brother. Unless, during his life, he has given them outright horses and other property, at his death they are entitled to none of his possessions. If he has sons, the property is divided among them, except a few horses, which are given to his brothers. If he has no sons, all the property goes to his brothers, and if there are no brothers, it goes to the nearest male relatives on the father's side.

567 The Blackfeet cannot be said to have been slave-holders.
562 It is true that the Crees call the Blackfeet women "Little
593 Slaves." But this, as elsewhere suggested, may refer to the region whence they originally came, though it is often explained that it is on account of the manner in which the Blackfeet treat their women, killing them or mutilating their features for adultery and other serious offences.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

the relative strengths of the warlike tribes in whose country they lived and worked. Probably the most reliable early estimate of Blackfoot numbers was compiled by Henry in 1809. It is a round number estimate of lodges and warriors. I have added the last column, arrived at by allowing an average of eight persons per lodge:

Tribe	*Lodges*	*Warriors*	*Persons*
Piegan	350	700	2,800
Blackfoot	200	520	1,600
Blood	100	200	800
	650	1,420	5,200

At that time the Blackfoot tribes were "increasing fast."[37] The Piegans were thought to have more than doubled their numbers in the three decades after the terrible smallpox epidemic. Male births outnumbered female ones, but adult women exceeded the number of men by a ratio of about five to three. Losses of men in warfare and hunting accidents created this disproportion between the sexes. The practice of polygamy helped to correct the situation. Husbands of more than one wife commonly married sisters. A widow could find a home as the wife of a friend of her deceased husband. Until a woman was nearly fifty years of age she was sure to find a husband. Some prominent chiefs had three to seven wives and many children. Kootenae Appe, the Piegan war chief, had twenty-two sons and four daughters by his five wives.[38]

Blackfoot men were described as tall, well proportioned, and muscular, with manly features and intelligent countenances. Their eyes were large, black, and piercing, their noses full and straight, their teeth white and regular, and their hair long, straight, and black. They plucked the hair from their faces to keep them smooth. The women were known for their good fea-

[37] Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, II, 530.

[38] Thompson, *Narrative*, 347-52.

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

583 585 431 585 431 231 (1923, pp. 272–273) and Grinnell (1892, pp. 211–216). The initial proposal could be made by parents of either the young man or woman. In either case it was a matter of pride for the family receiving the first gifts to return gifts of greater value than those received. Horses were virtually always among the valuable gifts exchanged. Bradley (1923, p. 272) wrote that "two or three horses or their equivalent in other goods constitute the customary offering in cases of intended marriage." Green Grass Bull recalled one marriage in which the groom's folks received over 40 horses from the bride's relatives. Yet he said that he gave his wife's father only one horse when he married, although later, when he returned from horse raids, he presented horses to her father and her two brothers. Three Calf recalled a rare instance of a father's offer of his daughter to a young man in return for a certain horse that man owned which he coveted.[80]

POLYGAMY

162 595 595 556 In buffalo days the number of Blackfoot women far exceeded that of men due primarily to heavy male war losses. (See p. 212.) At the same time many hands were needed by successful hunters to prepare their robes and skins for the fur trade and to manage their households on the move and in camp. It was usual for wealthy men to have several wives. Men of the middle class, in many instances, were polygamous. Poor men generally were monogamous. There were notable exceptions to this rule. One Piegan was known to have possessed three wives and but one horse. He and his family had a very difficult time moving their few belongings. On the other hand, the wealthy Stingy had one wife. Many parents offered him their daughters, but he refused, saying that more than one wife meant trouble.

595 587 There seems to have been a common belief that the practice of the sororate reduced the possibilities of jealousy and friction in polygamous marriages. Double Victory Calf Robe, an aged Blood woman, told me she was a wife in a polygamous union. Her two older sisters were married to Iron Horn. One day her father told her, "My son-in-law is very good to us. You better marry him and be with your sisters." Her parents outfitted a horse and travois and she rode over to Iron Horn's lodge. He accepted her, and gave horses to her father. The exchange of gifts in this marriage of a third daughter to a son-

[171]

[80] Early references to the exchange of gifts, primarily of horses, in the marriage ceremonies of other Plains and Plateau tribes appear in the literature. Lewis and Clark noted this procedure among the Lemhi Shoshoni in 1805 (Coues, 1893, vol. 2, p. 587). Say reported gift exchanges in the Kansas marriage ceremony in 1819 (James, 1823, vol. 1, pp. 123–124); and Maximilian found them customary among the Mandan in 1834 (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 22, pp. 275–283).

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

in-law followed the procedure customary in monogamous or first marriages among the Blackfoot.[81]

THE HORSE IN PUNISHMENT OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL OFFENSES

Bradley (1870's) reported that with the exception of punishments meted out by the police for disobedience of the restriction against premature hunting of the buffalo by individuals—

> all crimes of whatever grade were purely private wrongs for which the Blackfoot code provided no penalty but such as the injured party, himself, or his friends, was able to inflict. And if we accept as crimes only those offenses for which custom had in some degree regulated the penalty, we find ourselves reduced to a list of ridiculously small proportions, comprenending in fact only larceny, adultery, and homicide. There were other wrongs which the individual might sustain as assault and battery, or slander, but the injured party was left to inflict upon the offender such punishment as he chose or was able to inflict." [Bradley, 1923, pp. 286–287.]

Cases of larceny were generally settled by restoring to the owner the stolen goods, whether horses or other possessions (ibid., p. 287). In cases of homicide and adultery, the two major offenses against the individual, exaction of fines in horses was common. The relatives of a murdered man generally felt duty bound to revenge his death by killing the murderer. However, that might in turn lead to an extended blood feud between the families of the two dead men, resulting in a series of deaths on both sides. As an alternative the killer's relatives might be able to satisfy the family of the murdered man through payment of a heavy fine in horses and/or other valuables. Informants stated that this alternative was resorted to most commonly if the murderer was of a higher social status than the murdered man, or if the murderer was a member of a large family whose vengeance would surely fall upon his killers. Maximilian told of the resort to this alternative in a case involving the killing of a nephew of a Piegan chief by a Blood Indian in the summer of 1833. After some shots were exchanged between Piegan and Blood the murder was commuted through presents (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 159). In 1838, traders at Fort Benton killed a troublesome Blood Indian who had threatened their lives. The Blood in council agreed that the case could be settled by presents of a horse to each of the dead man's brothers (Bradley. 1900, pp. 227–230).

At the Blackfeet Agency in Montana, Indian Agent John S. Wood, in council with the chiefs of the Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan, adopted

[81] Tixier's comment on the Osage, "Any man may marry as many wives as he can take care of," may be regarded as typical of Plains Indian tribes in general (Tixier, 1940, p. 183). Plural marriages probably were more common among wealthier tribes than in poorer ones. Of the wealthy Crow, prior to 1856, Denig (1953, p. 34) wrote, "About one half the nation have a plurality of wives, the rest one each." My Blackfoot data suggests the proportion of plural marriages was smaller among them.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Piegan chief.[129] Although this evidence is scanty it certainly is suggestive of an increase in the size of herds. What is most significant for our purposes is that by 1833, the time when the large markets for tanned robes in the States first developed, there already existed an accumulation of horses that made possible the ensuing expansion of polygyny. This expansion in turn perpetuated and intensified the social gradations that already existed, for men with large herds were the ones who could purchase many wives, and in the exchange thereby transform idle capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women).

Following the growth of polygyny and the increasing importance of the bride price in horses we find that the age at which marriages occurred was also altered. There was a tendency for girls to marry at a younger age and for men to marry at a later age. In 1787 Thompson reported that girls usually married between sixteen and eighteen, and men at twenty-two or somewhat later.[130] In 1885, Rev. Wilson's informants told him that girls normally married at twelve.[131] Our own informants, speaking of the period of the latter half of the nineteenth century, placed the age of marriage for girls between ten and sixteen and that of men at thirty-five, rarely at less. It is during this period that we get the first cases of child marriage. Fathers now wished to marry off their daughters as early as possible in order to realize the bride price. On the other hand, men were not chosen as sons-in-law until they had accumulated sufficient property and had acquired a good reputation as a warrior or hunter.

The increase in the number of wives brought greater friction within the household. The effect of the sororate in eliminating hostilities diminished and at the same time the contrasts between the status of upper and lower wives were intensified. The native term for a wife lower than third or fourth means slave wife, which accurately describes their status. Lower wives performed the most difficult tasks, rarely put up Sun Dances, were most often beaten and most often suspected of adultery.

Social Organization

The fur trade stimulated inter-tribal intercourse. Tribes which had little contact with each other met at trading posts with the result of much borrowing and spreading of culture elements. A case in point is the borrowing of age grade societies by the Blackfoot from some of the village tribes to the south.

The historical material offers little in the way of positive evidence for the

[129] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[130] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[131] Wilson, *Report of the Fifty-Seventh Meeting of the British Assoc. for the Adv. of Science*, Sept. 1885, p. 192.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

than we had intended to stay, and my father, knowing what would happen when we went away, would make it hard for us to go.

It is not surprising that a marriage of this kind, with the children maneuvering to remain in their respective privileged homes, and the fathers maneuvering for even the limited *minipoka* help, did not last long. This one broke up in a year and a half.

When the favorites remarried, pomp, ceremony and property exchange were usually omitted, as they were in second marriages throughout the tribe. Free from the pressure of parents, a man might select a wife from any stratum of society. Passion rather than property dictated the new choice.

The growing concentration of horse wealth made an unstable marriage situation even more precarious. Young men had great difficulty in obtaining a wife at all, for they could neither pay for nor support one. Such difficulty was not unknown in the older Blood society despite the excess of women over men. The established hunters and warriors (i.e., men who had horses or their equivalent in ceremonial prestige) had two, three, or more wives.[83] Fathers urged their young and attractive daughters, then as now, upon older and successful men. But while the time of marriage was late (many men were twenty-five and the sons of the poor frequently over thirty)[84] a young man still had some chance to rise on his own initiative and win recognition. In the early eighties, and for twenty years to follow, he suffered from all the old disadvantages of the polygamous society, and the new order offered him few satisfactory ways of exhibiting his worth. In 1882, it was reported, "there was very little crime. More trouble was caused by the stealing of women from each other. Women sold for horses. Only a few are rich enough to buy women now. Most of the young men who have no horses cannot get married, and therefore steal from someone rich in women."[85]

Nevertheless, a few ways remained for making a living. A man might work out for whites or become a scout or farmer in the government service, or if he preferred to follow Indian custom, he could seek a vision and become a shaman, although remunerative practice did not immediately follow. Or he might, and here the rewards were quicker, improve his position by marrying a rich women, often some ten or fifteen years his senior. A sufficiently ambitious man might combine all of them. John Many Rattles did.[86] Born in 1862, he reached adulthood when it was most difficult for young men to rise. He hired out to whites, became a government scout at thirty-three,

[83] Henry and Thompson, *Journals*, Vol. 2, p. 526, "Many of them have six or seven wives."

[84] Lewis, *The Effect of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture*, p. 40. Cf. also Bradley, *Characteristics*, p. 272.

[85] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[86] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes, 1939.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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596 601 male speaker and *nisis.'*[2] for a female speaker).[2] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nitzki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

596 591 592 [601] The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, [593] actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow [606] for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among [587] the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mus- [735] tered, could such a group exist in practise.

596 602 601 Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would im- [124] ply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

[2] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
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practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger." 000

This system of rank and seniority had its repercussions on personal security. Even though blood bonds were considered extremely stable, cases occur where there was open conflict between brothers. Moreover, a younger brother was a potential threat to an older brother whom he might surpass. Many Swans' war record excelled that of his older brother, and people taunted the brother mildly on this score. Indeed, there was personal humiliation, for the great family name of Many Swans, borne by the older brother, was taken away by the father and given to the younger brother. The older brother also relinquished the chieftainship of the band in favor of the younger. Thus age was no guarantee against being excelled by a younger man even within one's own family. Loss of one's wives was another threat. In fact, judging by the severe and brutal treatment accorded an unfaithful wife at the hands of her husband, unfaithfulness seems to have been an almost intolerable personal affront. Yet we have instances where the corespondent was a younger brother. The fact that the levirate did occur in some cases legalized this relationship but only after the death of the older brother. As if to prevent even this possibility, a male addressed his older brother's wife as "mother," and she replied "son." 561 593 578 [558] [553] [622] [558] [684] [587]

Thus if fraternal conflict were possible, the only security in a system of rank is in the group of those with identical rank. Indeed, we have observed that a male cousin, step-brother or twin of the same age was not called "brother" but "comrade." This is the only reciprocal term in Northern Blackfoot kinship terminology with the exception of the remote parents of one's siblings' spouses and the parents of ones' children's spouses (*ndax'-soku'*). The relationship of one comrade to another might be extremely close, implying a sharing of wealth, of sexual gratification and of recreation. Though comrades exchanged gifts, there was no sign of competition between them in out-doing the other in generosity. With comrades one's wife was safe, for with their wives one might have easy, ribald relations, though no sexual intercourse. The children of comrades were called "my children," and adoption of one or more of them at the death of a comrade was not uncommon. The age societies supported this solidarity further, for through the hierarchy of these societies one passed with the same group. Indeed, it was not uncommon for comrades to join together to help a poor comrade by paying for his membership. Then as a member of an age group one could vent his feelings against those of the next older age grade by jeering at their accomplishments, possibly sublimating some of the repressed rancor occasioned by their imperious authority. 561 602 571 [601] [597] [575] [578] [182]

Here we see that the relation of male to male was one of rank based on sen- [152] [154]

127 to make the best sense of the data possible given the information at
128 hand. I do know that during my 1970 visit to the reservation I learned
592 that two re-unions had occurred among the sixteen recorded spouseless
586 households. The difference in the two samples suggest increasing
[587] difficulties and stress for the present households; along with poor
economic conditions and increased household population density there
are greater numbers of marital splits proportional to the overall number
of households.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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of mutilation. This brings to our attention the enhanced status of women through the application of white law. Through English precedent a Blackfoot woman may hold property in her own name, thus having authority which lies beyond the control of her husband. Furthermore, English law does not reinforce the authority over her by the male members of her family, as does Blackfoot practice. Thus in a case where a woman complained to the agent about mistreatment by her husband which had the approval of her own brothers, the case would probably be decided in favour of the woman by a white magistrate. Women are legally freer today than formerly. Naturally such legal practices have undermined much of the familial authority. It has been broken down further by years of boarding-school life away from the elders, as well as the white law which permits an adult female self-determination, once she has passed the eighteenth birthday.

On the side of the male other factors have further undermined marital stability. In the former polygynous households, relations with another woman could sometimes be legalized by incorporating her into the family as a co-wife. Of course, this is not permissible today. Moreover, the number of services performed by a woman for her husband have decreased. Though cooking and child tending continue, the hides that she once tanned, the tipi and buckskin clothes that she once made are either not desired, or their equivalents can be purchased from stores. Economically, wives are less valuable.

Remarriage after separation or death of a spouse is vastly simpler than initial marriages. Relatives, preferably the older brothers, of a woman usually select a satisfactory male who, in case of acceptance, notifies the agency of the event. The customary five dollars in cash is given again and notice sent to the stock-man concerning the delivery of rations. Male initiative in proposing marriage also occurs, though via an intermediary; in such cases a woman is expected to consult her male relatives before an answer can be given. Elopement of an unmarried girl does occur, but amends should be made to the offended authority of the woman's brother by sending a proper gift, traditionally a horse. In case of an elopement from a husband, the wife's brothers, if they approve the change, should relay the gift to the offended husband.

Such a picture of marital instability, hence household instability, superimposed upon the amorphousness of many extended families, shows the fluidity of reserve social structure. The points of stability

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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The extended families that quickly dissipate are those with insufficient wealth to support many individuals and no central figure to carry the burden of leadership. Those loyal to the deceased will have other loyalties which compete with the successor. Successors with more of a flare for enjoying themselves than for maintaining the family assets lose their legacies and become dependents upon the more sagacious. Moreover, without a strong successor, quarrels over the legacy arise. In view of the multitudinous relatives recognized in Blackfoot society, particularly after several marriages, claimants for the property may be numerous. One recently contested estate consisting of horses and cattle was left intestate, though the deceased had given away the body of his horses before death. The claimants for the cattle were: (1) a classificatory older brother of the deceased, actually the dead man's mother's brother; (2) a classificatory young brother, actually the dead man's father's sister's son; (3) an adopted daughter; (4) a nephew, the exact relationship being unknown. As the nephew had already received the horses, this gift was confirmed by the council of chiefs, and the cattle were awarded to the adopted daughter; the other claims were unrecognized.

Today, households that are economically successful tend to become independent. Many Stars predicted at treaty time, "You will all be chiefs." As each household with a plough, harrow, and binder no longer needs the economic assistance of a chief, the main relationship to the leader is sentimental. The leader of a stable, extended family draws his followers from those without means, the young who have not yet obtained the tools of production, and the aged who need shelter and companionship. White law and administration have further weakened the system by the assumption that the conjugal biological family is the social unit to be preserved. For example, the levirate, which entrusted a younger brother with the care of his older brother's widow, is unrecognized in English law; today the widow must rejoin her own relatives pending remarriage and usually goes to the home of the one who is best able to support her, preferably her older brother. Furthermore, the head of an extended family has no officially recognized place in the political system. Few leaders of extended families are members of the council of chiefs, because, as we have shown, it is a frustrating position. Unofficially the head of an extended family may carry as much or more weight among Indians than many elected chiefs. A member

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occasionally, other property is returned in its stead. [535] [575] [784]

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave. [681]

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre and returned with some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered powerful medicine. Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given for amusement. [184] [177] [178] [262]

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs. [432] [424]

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a ceremonial dance. Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. The Blood now have a sacred crow belt. [535] [778]

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.[1] [774] [231]

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[1] An informant commented as follows: — Sometimes the grass dancers give up their wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tail, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan. [586] [587]

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

companion, Mike Yellow Bull, held him steady from behind until he was safely inside. Slowly, he walked around the fireplace toward me. 574

"T'kcha?"—Who is that?—the Old Man called out, as he pointed to Albert with one of his canes. In our tipi, he always sits at the place of honor, immediately to my left, where Albert was sitting. [576]

"Makwi Poka," Albert replied. The Old Man was momentarily confused, since our little boy, also named Makwi Poka, usually sits at my right. Then he recognized the voice and said, "Oh, my old son-in-law," his tone implying that he should have known who it was. He was referring to Albert's first marriage to his daughter, Victoria.

Albert got up and we helped the Old Man sit down in the honored place. At ninety-four, his vigorous outdoor life had helped him grow old in good health. Although his eyes were nearly worn out and his knees were weak, he was one of the few Old People who could sit through our all-night ceremonies and still be alert and joking when Sun came up in the morning. 887 147

The Old Man was the last holy man to follow the Old Ways of our People. He had spent his lifetime giving spiritual guidance to our People, doctoring them when their health failed, and leading their ceremonies when they came together to pray. 793 756

He had been born in the year 1877. His father's name was also Wolf Old Man, and his mother was the younger of Wolf Old Man's two wives. Not long after our Old Man's birth, Wolf Old Man died. Our Old Man's mother then mar- 551 [587]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 13A]

tune if it should fall to the ground. Wolf Shirt proved his Power by never letting a Stem fall from his head. Mokakin and Ponah have seen him dance this way with all the Medicine Pipes still left among our People. 796 276 [784]

Ponah told us that her father, as a young man, was happily married to two sisters from the North Piegan divison. After one of the sisters died, Iron began investigating a young Blood woman for his next wife. The surviving sister became jealous and left him. So he married the Blood woman. She was the mother of Ponah and her sister, Mrs. Red Crow. After his third wife died he married the widow of Ghost Chest. She was an older woman, called Istsimpski, or "Hateful Face." Her son was Charlie Goodrider, who was quite a romantic character. 595 587 [586]

Ponah asked Mokakin to tell us about her father's horse raids. He related the time Iron was with One Spot and Head Walking when they raided the Crees. One Spot captured a Cree Medicine Pipe, against Iron's insistence, while Head Walking shot a Cree. Iron rode up to the Cree, dismounted, stabbed the man dead, and took his scalp. 721

As we talked, we began to hear singing faintly coming through the rising and falling of the wind outside. Slowly, the singing grew louder. 533

[p. 56-A]

As day broke, they saw an endless body of warriors all around them. They tried to retreat but it was no use. As they scattered, some were trapped in cottonwood groves, some were slaughtered while trying to swim across the river, and some were killed hiding in coulees, where our men threw large stones down at them. The Piegan and Blood chiefs finally called their men off to avoid further bloodshed, and the remaining Crees were able to make their escape. Exact figures are not known, of course, but it is believed that fatalities on our side were around 40, while the Crees lost 300 or more. 726 [727]

STORIES OF NATOSINA, OR EAGLE PLUME

One of my favorite Old People from the past was our uncle's father, Natosina. During most of his life he was known by the name Pita-Sapoiip, or "Eagle Plume." Although he has been gone for close to forty years now, his name is still frequently mentioned at ceremonies and other gatherings of our Old People. He knew about all our Old Ways, and was a skilled Teacher of them. One Old Person described him to me as "Professor Eagle Plume." 793 [551]

Old Natosina was born around 1850. His father was named Not-Scared-of-Gros Ventres. Among his father's wives was his mother, whose name, *Otsani*, can no longer be translated. Because it was misunderstood, she was called Old Charlie, which stuck with her. Among her children were Natosina's brothers Running Wolf, Big Snake, Many Chiefs, Last Star, Crow Tail Feathers, and Dog. She also had a daughter, Three Owl Woman. [551] [553]

Natosina married his main wife, his sits-beside-him wife, as we say, while she was very young. Her name was Prairie Dog Woman, and she is best remembered as a holy woman who put up several Medicine Lodges. Around the year 1900, he took the widow of Low Horn for a second wife. Her name was SikskiAki, and she [595] [587]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Black ɔot NF6
Blood

793
291
[237]

Atsitsina with his parents, Natosina and SikskiAki. He is wearing a blanket coat and holding a pipe bag. Natosina holds a buffalo tail whisk, which he uses for fanning himself and for sweat bathing.

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brought with her an infant son, Jack Low Horn. 793
With Natosina she soon had another son, who is [595]
our uncle, Atsitsina. For a short time Natosina [587]
had three wives, all related, but the youngest one
lied without having children.

Old SikskiAki was given her name, "Black-Faced Woman," because of her dark skin. In [551]
spite of that, she had blue eyes. Her mother, [553]
Blonde Big Nose, also blue-eyed, had been part [144]
French and part Mexican. *Her* father (Atsitsina's great-grandfather) had been a French trader also known as Bill, who was noted for having very long red hair. Old SikskiAki's father was a Blood named White Crane.

Natosina was the leader of every kind of 793
Sacred Ceremony—Medicine Pipe, Beaver Bun- 797
dle, Horns Society, Nighttime, and Medicine Lodge. He was a noted doctor and spiritual advisor. His war records include twenty-two different raids, on which he killed seven enemy men and captured well over one hundred horses. Like many Old People he was baptized into the Catholic Church in a mass ceremony that was explained

[p. 256-A]

Pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake up by. 000

MRS. FRANK RED CROW

Mrs. Red Crow, who is known as Singing-in-the-Water, is the sister of Ponah and the widow of Frank Red Crow; her father was old Iron. She was born in 1902 and spent much of her life married to Frank's uncle, Francis Red Crow. She became a widow, then married Frank some time after his wife died. 115 [587]

Mrs. Red Crow says she always had respect for the Old Ways, but she never cared to have sacred things transferred to her. One time, when she and Ponah were still quite young, their grandmother put up a Medicine Lodge:

Nobody made a vow to cut up the hide, so our dad, Iron, told everybody, "My daughters, they can do it." He came and he told us to come up to the front with him. I didn't want to but he made me. While they were getting the things ready I saw that no one was watching and I just ran away as fast as I could and found a place to hide until they were finished. 796

Before she married Frank Red Crow she had lived a fairly modern life, without following most of the Old Ways. She didn't know Frank very well but thought that he was very faithful to the Old Ways. She didn't know anything about him selling sacred Bundles to Mrs. Walters during the 1930s. 593 [439]

She learned about his selling holy things quite by accident—literally. Not long after their marriage they loaded their truck with camping gear and headed for Great Falls, Montana. Frank brought along an ancient-looking rawhide container, which he wrapped in cloth and laid on the front seat beside him. She did not ask what was inside. Not long before Great Falls, while driving in the dark, they ran into some livestock on the 593 439 778

back down to Fort Benton. It was very dangerous to be alone out in that country, because of the enemy war parties. So my mother never saw my real father again. She then married Flying Chief, who was better known as Joe Healy. He was my stepfather. 586 587

Joe Healy had become an orphan when he was very young. His parents were camped in a tipi outside of Fort Whoop-Up, near Lethbridge. During the night, some enemy People from the west side of the mountains came and shot rifles into the tipi. They killed Joe's parents and his two sisters. He was wounded in the thigh. Two traders named Healy and Hamilton found Joe, who was still a little kid, so they buried his family and adopted him. He was doctored by some nuns, and later he was sent to school at Fort Shaw, in Montana. He was about the first boy on this reserve to go to school. He learned English and became a scout and interpreter for the Northwest Mounted Police. 736 597 [871] [191] [464]

I was at the Riot Sun Dance, the one during which Heavy Head tortured himself. I was sitting inside of the Medicine Lodge, near my grandfather, Iron Pipe, who was one of the Medicine Men. People would come up to him and bring him a filled pipe and sometimes an offering and he would pray for them. 793

As Rosie Davis grew older, she became a student of Miss Wells, an English lady who taught a number of Blood girls the ways of being housewives, British style. Her students became noted housekeepers and influential wives of men on the Blood Reserve. Even at her old age, Rosie Davis speaks very clearly, in a British accent, and uses very good grammar. 177 871

Rosie married Charlie Davis, also the child of a white father and a Blood mother. His father was the first government-appointed official for the Northwest Territories. His uncle was the mayor of nearby Fort MacLeod for many years. Charlie was still very young when his mother passed away. 144 [736]

[p. 343-A]

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

cepting for the sons of the rich—and they were a decided minority—skill in hunting and warfare and courage in the face of danger were the musts for survival. In a word, self-reliance was the aim and basis of training.

And self-reliance was as necessary inside the home as outside it. Not that the Blood lacked affection for their offsprings, or a desire to support them. Many observers have commented most positively on both these traits. But the dependence on the hunt and war for food and gain, the frequent movings from place to place, made the rearing of children a difficult matter. Many stories are told of newborn infants "thrown away," left to die in the bushes, either because they could not be cared for on the march, or because raiders might hear their cries and thus be led to the camping ground, or because a mother had died in childbirth (the lot of the orphan, and even the half-orphan, was, and still is, far from enviable).

It was also considered desirable to limit the number of children. Two years was the standard interval, but the longer the time between siblings, the more parents demonstrated their love for the child previously born. Moreover, abortion carried no stigma. Magic help for this purpose could be easily secured from an authorized female practitioner, and as a special favor, a stop could be put to childbearing altogether. Revealingly, barrenness is never given as a cause for divorce in this competitive society where women are highly prized as property and sex objects, and where marriage is notoriously unstable.

The hunt and war often and for extended periods took the Blood father away from home. And these absences, however necessary, were a continual threat to a child's security. For whether justified or not, and frequently he was justified, a husband was quick to suspect that "the worst" had happened while he was gone.[21] A child often heard his mother accused of adultery, often saw her beaten, and not infrequently deserted. Whatever the ultimate solution of familial disagreement, the child invariably was the sufferer. Even if his parents remained together, he often sought refuge with a nearby relative to avoid further scenes of violence. If they separated and he went with his mother, as he usually did if he was still "young," his sense of belonging might be rudely disturbed again. For often when his mother remarried, she left him with

[21] Among the Blood jealousy was and is obsessional. Many a husband approaching his end threatened to kill his wife, for only if she accompanied him on his final journey would he be sure that he alone would possess her in the next world. The only Blood confined to an insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having intercourse with a ghost.

28: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1967 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

a grandmother, aunt, or older sister "because a stepfather might not treat him right."

To some degree the extended family structure, the close camp living, and the satisfactions found in agemates (the age grades were the strongest expression of solidarity in Blood society) cushioned the threat. But, however viewed, the emotional and even at times physical support that a child could expect from his parents or any other adult was limited indeed.

And the supernaturals were hardly more reliable—at least not those to whom one might appeal for personal aid. When a young man went out alone at night to some far-off place to seek a guardian spirit—in almost all instances, a male being, Old Man Sun, Morning-star, Rock Man or some animal—he did not feel that "strong" medicine would be his if only he followed a prescribed ritual, as was the case in the pueblos of the Southwest. Instead, the Blood youth appealed for "pity." And the supernaturals, like his nearest of kin, were unpredictable. True, if the quest succeeded, prestige would be enhanced, and after some years, material advantage also. But many a supplicant, even after repeated effort, failed to get a "vision" and the power that depended on it.

In this insecure and competitive setting, the institution of "the favorite" emerged, not as an expression of fatherly love but, as the Blackfoot word, *minipoka*, "child of plenty," makes explicit, first and essentially as a way of demonstrating wealth—a way no different from the taking of a second, third, or fourth wife, the owning of expensive pipes or bundles, the possession of a tipi made of eighteen or twenty skins.

There was only one accepted criterion for having a "favorite"—enough wealth to make continual validations in his name. Thus neither the number of the child nor its sex was a consideration, but while a girl could be a *minipoka*, more often it was a boy who was so honored. And the rich man had as many favorites as he could afford. Some said they wanted to treat their children alike, some that they wanted to show how rich they were.

The process began at birth. The favorite was placed on a weasel or otter skin—the poor man's child slept in a buckskin bag. The favorite was "initiated" to many ceremonial privileges—protective paintings, forelocks, charms, pipes, partnerships in a society like the Horns while he was still in his teens. Give-aways were held in his name, and any gift made to him was quickly repaid and usually with interest.

The favorite was fed first and with the choicest morsels. He was

the children without a home. Generally the children, especially the infants, follow their mother, either back to her parents' home or into a new marriage. But the new husband does not always welcome his wife's children and a problem is created.

This apparently casual attitude towards children would suggest there is little concern for their welfare, that they might be regarded as more or less unwelcome hinderances to their parents' activities. It would be interesting to know the degree to which their presence influences the decision of their parents to separate or to remain together. Probably very little, since no child goes uncared for. Children may sometimes be regarded as nuisances by the younger people, but among the older folk they are definitely desired. They frequently express the wish to have young children about and this is, in a large measure, substantiated by the number of people who take their grandchildren to raise, although not always to adopt. It is felt that a person with no children will have no one to care for him in his old age. It is said that an adopted child knows what has been done for him and out of gratitude will assume more care for his foster parents than will their own children.

Nearly half the households on the reserve have children living with them that were not born there. The frequency with which children are sent to live outside their own immediate family is quite noticeable. Here I should like to mention my reluctance to rely upon statistics to emphasize my points. I have a record of about 50 cases that may be considered definite adoptions, to which may be added at least 12 doubtful cases. To these are again added 20 or more even more doubtful cases, which may be just prolonged visits by a child to relatives. The 50 cases of adoption cover those of which people are aware, but I do not doubt that there are many more that have long since been forgotten. In the minds of the community the adopted children soon merge with the rest of the family.

Three main categories can be distinguished within this general pattern of mobility. First of all are cases where a child is visiting relatives. These visits may be of prolonged or short duration and vary in frequency. It may be a case of grandparents looking after the child while there is trouble at home between the parents, because there are too many small children to be cared for there, or for no other reason than that it is nice to visit elsewhere.

if necessary someone is sure to look after them. 597

Boarding schools have introduced a new factor into this question of age. If separation or death of its parents occurs once the child is in school the need for a home is not so pressing, and the boy or girl can usually be accommodated with relatives for the holidays without phrasing it as an adoption. It is also possible to remain in the care of the school throughout the year. 855 597 [586] [768]

Children in the great majority of cases go to relatives for adoption, although the relationship may be remote. These are often relatives acquired through adoption the previous generation. The families to which these children go are almost equally divided between the relatives of the mother and the father. There are instances, too, where no relatives are involved. In these cases the stated reasons for adopting were that they wanted children, or were sorry for some child and feared that it would not be well treated under some new conditions, such as the remarriage of the father or mother. 597

It is said that girls and boys are equally desirable, likewise the children of either strangers or relatives. Although the great majority of children taken are boys, this does not seem to me significant, for one does not hear of girl babies being passed over. It is natural that most of the children should be taken by relatives since they would be the first to hear of the need for adoption. In many cases the families would be living close together, and it would mean very little adjustment for the child to settle in a new home. In one instance a baby and its father were living with the latter's father's sister and her husband, and when the father married again he just left the child with his aunt who adopted it. [587]

Similarly, from the point of view of the foster family there is likely to be little disturbance of the household. There is constant visiting of both children and adults, and when a more permanent relationship is assumed it does not disrupt the existing conditions. 597 182 [574]

In the majority of cases when a child is introduced into a foster home there are no young children living there at the time. There may never have been any in that household or they may all have grown up and left. In the few instances where young children were still there, there seems to have been little disturbance. In one case a younger girl was adopted after a boy had been taken, and it was remarked that no conflict arose between them since they had previously been playmates, living near one another. I am inclined 597 593